Artist Unknown

The Legend of Pierre Hatsinaton, called Yellow-Head

By Darcy John Bouchard *dit* li Exŏuīle © 2025, Revised

The historical Tête Jaune's lineage has caused much confusion. The muddle started in 1819 when **Colin Robertson**, a prominent officer of the **Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)** at **St. Mary's** on the **Peace River**, wrote that a group of **"*Baymen*"** embarking for **New Caledonia** was accompanied by **"Pierre Hatsinaton, Guide."** When the letter was copied in the fort's journal it read "with the Tête Jaune, Guide." However, account books of both the **HBC** and the **North-West Company (NWC)** refer to **"Pierre Bostonais *dit* Tête Jaune."** In the 18th century, the "Boston" sobriquet was frequently attached, by metonymy, to the inhabitants and immigrants of New England. Pierre may well have been **"*christened Hatsinaton*"** but called **"*Bostonais*"** to denote his origin in the **United States**. This would lend credence to speculation *that* he was the Tête Jaune referred to…

In the days of the fur-trading companies, employees and free people on many occasions practiced the art of jeering, strongly imbued with mocking impertinence—examples include (*as follows*): **John McDonald of Garth**, called **"*Bras Croche*"** ("iron balls"); **Gabriel Dumont**—military leader of the **1885 Exovede Resistance**, said to have been called **"*Ti-Rat*"** (a play on words inferring not the rodent but his "marksmanship" *viz.* as a "grenadier"); **Mathieu Bélanger**, who is said to have been nicknamed **"*Crédit*"** (infers his honour and réputation as "a man whose ratification of treaties" was respected)... or even *of* a certain **"*Merde d'Esturgeon*"** whose true identity is not revealed (again, a play on words: *i.e.*, "shit-disturber" *viz.* "s'insurgé," meaning "rebel" and not "*fish-shit*").

"The Leather Pass" or "Tête Jaune Cache Pass"
William George Richardson Hinc (ca. 1862)

David Thompson

Sir George Simpson

Pierre Bostonais Pangman

Pierre Hatsinaton called Tête Jaune ("Yellow-Head") (Hathawiton, Atawita, Thaawita) because of his blonde-streaked hair, *aka* **Pierre Bostonais** (b. ca. 1821 at Québec) was a **French-Iroquois Freeman**: Several men were nicknamed "Yellow-Head," including: (*as follows*): ***Alexander MacDonnell*** *aka* **"*Gouverneur Sauterelle*"** and another blonde voyageur in those days was ***Francois Deçoigne***.

> "Over the years such fur traders as **Jasper Hawes**,[1] **François Deçoigne** and, *latterly*, **Pierre Hatsinaton** have all at some point been argued to have been **Tête Jaune**. However, **Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)** ***records*** have proven that his real name was **Pierre Pangman Bostonais** *son of Peter Pangman and Marguerite* (*Sautéuse*)."
>
> David Smyth,
> "Jasper National Park: Some Fur Trade Place Names of the Yellowhead Pass" (1984)

Tête Jaune died in 1828 and **Pierre Bostonais Pangman, Sr.**[2] died 1850•03•04 at St-Francois-Xavier, Red River Settlement (RRS)… so, it is doubtful *that* the two are the same man. Pierre Bostonais Pangman could very well be **Pegman Pelletier** though: (Pegman Pelletier does not seem to have a history).

"Bostonais Pierre" (born 1791 10 20, Red River Settlement—died 1850•03•04, Saskatchewan Prairie) *half-breed son of Peter Pangman* was prominent dans **la Victorie de la Grenouillière** (Frog Plain), better remembered as the **Seven Oaks Massacre** (1816) (*q.v.*) and as a leader of the **"1869 Republic of the Half-breeds."** It is said *that* most descendants of Bostonais Pierre reside in Western Canada—and use the Pangman surname. He had two sons: Pierre (born 1834) and Louis (born 1835).

Pierre was employed by the **North-West Company** (NWC) as ***a fur trader and trapper and a guide*** in the early-19th century (1800s). **Tête Jaune Cache** (1825), the **Carlton Trial** (Yellowhead Highway), and **Yellowhead Pass** were named for him (not before 1859).

Hatsinaton and **David Thompson** traversed the pass circa 1805.

Between Jasper House and Tête Jaune Caché lived the **Shuswap Indians**.

In his report to ***Anglo-Canadian fur trader*** **William Connolly**

after a trip of about 120 miles, they reached **Tête Jaune Caché**.

In his report to ***Anglo-Canadian fur trader*** **William Connolly**, McMillan specifically mentioned **"Tête Jaune's Cache**," which is ***the first recorded reference to this place name***. **"The "Leather Track"** (now known as **Yellowhead Pass**) through the **Rocky Mountains** was first used by the ***Iroquois and Métis traders of the North West Company*** in the early 1800s. It was later named Tête Jaune (Yellowhead) Pass after Pierre Hatsinaton (*aka* Pierre Bostonais) after he built a fur cache on the **Grand Fork of the Fraser River** in order to hide his furs.

It was used principally to transport leather, especially ***moose-hides***, from the **Saskatchewan District** to its posts in **New Caledonia**.

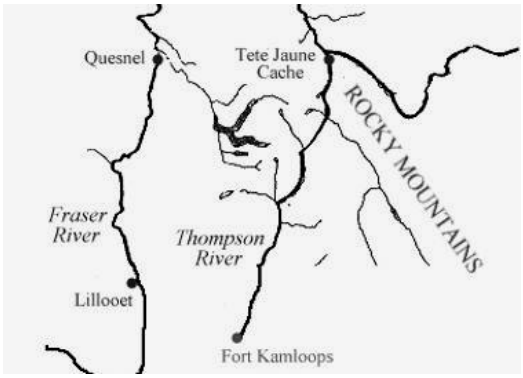
> **New Caledonia** was a ***fur-trading district*** of the **Hudson's Bay Company** that comprised the territory of the north-central portions of present-day British Columbia, Canada. Though not a **British colony**, New Caledonia was part of the **British claim to North America**.
>
> Founded by the **North-West Company** ***explorer and fur trader*** **Simon Fraser** in 1806, it came under the management of the HBC in 1821 with the forced merger of the two battling fur companies. It was ***one of the oldest permanent European settlements*** [ ] and its ***administrative centre*** was **Fort St. James (Stuart Lake Post)—*a region rich in wildlife***, located in the ***sub-boreal spruce zone*** of BC, a sub-division of the ***hemiboreal climatic zone***—characterized by ***severe, snowy winters*** and ***short, warm summers***. It was called the **Columbia Department** by the British, and the **Oregon Country** by the Americans. Even before the partition of the Columbia Department by the **Oregon Treaty in 1846**,
>
> New Caledonia was often used to describe **"*anywhere on the mainland not in the Columbia Department*,"** such as Fort Langley in the Fraser Valley."

Competition between the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company increased as the HBC pushed further-and-further into the fur-trading territory previously held by the NWC. In February of 1819 **John Clarke** (of the HBC)[3] erected **St. Mary's House** at the **Smoky-Peace River** confluence. **Joseph Gaubin** was chosen to lead an expedition with a band of Iroquois to cross the mountains into **New Caledonia** to see if the natives could be induced to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. **Tête Jaune** acted as a guide in the **Rocky Mountains**.

In December (1819), **Ignace Giasson** took charge of a push up the Smoky and enlisted the help of **"*a free Iroquois*"** described as **"Tête Jaune"**: Tête Jaune had been hunting and trapping in the area between the Smoky River Post, Jasper and Fort George and had established **Grande Caché**—a fur caché on the Grand Fork of the Fraser. [Note: **Pierre Hatsinaton** traveled, hunted and trapped in the triangle between the **Smoky River Post**, **Jasper** and **Fort George** at the same time… and, from time-to-time, accepted employment with the HBC.]

Pierre Bostonais assisted in the trek upstream and enlisted the help of some other Iroquois who lived on the Smoky in the spring of 1820. The group was to ascend to the **Grand Forks** (of the Smoky) where-at they were to meet a group of Iroquois, wait until Spring, and then cross the mountains (*via* **Robson Pass**) to make friends with the **Shuswap Indians** of the upper reaches of the **Fraser River**, *upstream from present-day Prince George*.

About that time, in the process of exploring the Smoky River, the HBC built an outpost in the vicinity of **Grande Caché**; *however*, the post was closed in 1822.



HBC Governor George Simpson

By 1822 **HBC Governor George Simpson** had been appointed **Governor of the Northern Department**. As he had reports that the area "between the headwaters of the Smoky and those of Canoe and Fraser's Rivers… abounds with beaver" he suggested the building of a **HBC outpost** at **Tête Jaune's cache**.

J. Là Roque, a good man with a reputation of being a quality trader, was dispatched by Simpson to establish this outpost on the **Grand Fork of the Fraser**. However, after considering organizational and transportation problems, Simpson decided against his own idea and set out with his expert Iroquois canoe men to overtake Là Roque. Simpson decided to discontinue fur trading in the Jasper area and transferred Là Roque to eastern Canada.

At **Jasper House**, McMillan hired Tête Jaune as guide. They left Jasper House on October 18th, and by October 24th, after a trip of about 120 miles, they reached **Tête Jaune Caché**.

In 1825, Simpson was to change his mind once more, and ordered **Chief Factor James McMillan** to explore *the* Yellowhead Pass. One year later he ordered the "requisition of 500 Dressed Moose and Deer Hides be provided and forwarded by the Saskatchewan District to **Tête Jaune Caché** on or before the close of September *proxo*."

This was the first written message of Tête Jaune Caché (*as follows*).

> "Arrived at Tête Jaune Caché, after encountering very hard travel [ ] Three men were nearly exhausted, and one of them died of a vile disease. Tête Jaune Caché is a place where one Iroquois Indian half-breed who was fair-haired, had made a fur cache, or a place to store his catch of furs and was known as Tête Jaune or Yellowhead. It is near the meeting of the Grand River–which flows from the base of Mt. Robinson–and the Fraser River"
>
> George McDougal, 1827•04•25

Tête Jaune continued trapping and trading in the area and by 1827 had relocated his cache from the Grand Fork of the Fraser to the vicinity of the ***Shuswap salmon fishing camp*** on the Fraser River *where the town of Tête Jaune Caché stands today*. The relocation was made to facilitate trading with **Fort George**.

On 1828•04•27, Tête Jaune, his wife and children, as well as his brother and his family, were all killed by a party of **Dane-zaa** ("*the Real People*")—an Athabaskan-speaking people living near the mouth of the **Finlay River**—in retaliation for encroaching into their territory near the headwaters of the Smoky River.[4]

Unfortunately, Tête Jaune was not allowed to continue trapping. Sometime in 1828, near the headwaters of the Smoky River, he, his brother, their wives and children were murdered by the Beaver Indians for revenge on the Iroquois for their earlier encroachment into the Beaver's hunting territory.

During the fall of 1828, Simpson called at **Fort St. James** on **Stuart Lake** to see **Chief Factor William Connolly**. About the time he was there, or *perhaps* soon after he left, Connolly received sad news of **Tête Jaune**. He was advised *that* **"*the venturesome Iroquois was reported dead*."** The enmity of the **Beaver Indians** had *finally* overtaken him and they murdered him, his brother ***Baptiste*** and ***their wives and children*** *near the* ***Smoky River*** *in* ***Rupert's Land***, (*now in Alberta*).

Tête Jaune who had served the **"*White man*"** well, the man who had led the way through the **Yellowhead Pass** had come to the end of his travels, all unaware that because of his cache, his name would pass down the ages

By the 1830s, the Yellowhead was truly being used; by 1841, ***Red River carts*** rolled along it in; miners used it for the **Caribou Gold Rush** in 1856; the **1862 Overlanders** followed it to **Kamloop**s and **Prince George**, and ***pioneer settlers*** followed it eastward tot heir new homesteads in the North-West. For those who live in the Western Provinces, the **Yellowhead Highway** is a vital link between British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Acting as a northern alternative to the **Trans-Canada Highway**, the Yellowhead provides a 2960 km route from Haida Gwaii to Winnipeg.

"*A little trouble along the way*!" (June 1922)
Putting the pathfinding car back on the rudimentary track: Exploring for the Yellowhead Highway Association Edmonton to Victoria *via* Jasper and Kamloops Overland 4.
Valemount Historical Society (0101)

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At the beginning of the 1800's a successful passage through the **Rocky Mountains** was a top priority to the fur trading companies. After many attempts, it was **David Thompson** who finally found a route through the **Athabasca Pass**.

With rough terrain to cross, often with heavy packs, the fur traders built log cabins to store their goods, leaving behind a commander to watch over the buildings, canoes and horses… or ***cachéd*** *viz.* hid their goods. The ***arduous portage*** over the 1736 meter **Athabasca Pass**, which followed by a steep descent of 1066 meter to the **Boat Encampment**, made **Jasper House** a critical depot. The first log house in the area was built during the winter of 1810-11—named **Henry House** after its **North-West Company (NWC)** commander, **William Alexander Henry *dit* Allary** *son of Captain Alexander Henry the Elder Julia Calcutt nèe Kittson*,* who established a small camp on the **Athabasca River** (near present day Jasper, AB), located at the outlet of **Brûlé Lake**—the principle highway for the fur trade from the plains to the Pacific coast. The post was occupied sporadically and abandoned in the 1830s.

William Alexander Henry *dit* Allary

Around 1813, the ***Henry House was abandoned and replaced by a new log cabin*** built by **Jasper Hawes**, who operated ***a trading post*** in the region for the NWC on the ***western shore of Brûlé Lake***. It was established "to facilitate the mountain crossings of those employees who are on their way to the Columbia River or returning from it." Those who lived there included an interpreter, a horse-keeper, two hunters, and two common employees. The log house was variously called **"Jasper's House"** and **"Rocky Mountain House"**: The post consisted of ***one building of rough logs*** with only three apartments but scrupulously clean inside. By 1817 the post was under charge of **Jasper Hawes**, and in addition to his family also had two Canadiens, two Iroquois and three hunters working under him.

Jasper Hawes, originally from **Missouri**, came to the area the **Rocky Mountains** from **Montréal** on a contract as a clerk for a trading company later to be known as the **Hudson's Bay Company**.

Before his journey west, Jasper Hawes signed a contact which stated (*as follows*):

> "In the presence of the Province of Lower Canada's notories signed Japser Haws, voyageur living in Sorel, who has voluntarily taken an assignment and engages himself by this contract to Mr. Canavan & Mr. Cazelet, Negt. of Upper Canada in the capacity of middleman, in one of their canoes, and to winter in the north, that is to say, at Red River in Upper Canada; and being responsible while travelling and arriving at the Merchandise Post, with food, clothes, utensils, and all necessary items for the voyage; serve obey, and faithfully execute all of the Negt. requests, or anybody else representing the Negt., work to their profit, and avoid any damages to their property, and notifying them if need be, and in general do anything that a good engaged person must and is obliged to do; without any special favors, or leaving the service, therefore risking being penalized by the company, and lose his income. This engagement being made, for the sum of Seven Hundared and Fifty Pounds or 'Chelins ancien Courant' (Spanish currency) of this Province, which they are obliged and promise to pay to the engaged one month after his return to this city, and before his departure, give him two of each items of his equiptment: two shirts and two pairs of cotton pants, two covers, two pairs of shoes, and two bags of tobacco and has received before leaving 10 Spanish dollars.
>
> Therefore &c. Promising, &c. Obliging, &c. Renouncing &c.
>
> Completed in Montreal and notarized by the signatory of party in the afternoon of January 12 in the year Seven hundred ninety five, have signed after having read:
>
> Jasper Haws
>
> Canavan & Cazelet
>
> From the Archives Nationales du Québec, à Montréal

2

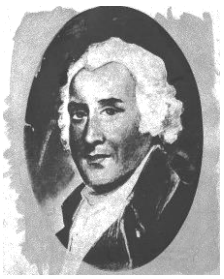
Pierre Bostonais Pangman *son of famous New England-born fur trader Peter Pangman and Marguerite Sautéuse* was active among the **Red River Métis** in the years leading up to the **Battle of Seven Oaks**, and was in fact put on trial in 1818 as a result of his participation in the massacre.

There is intriguing circumstantial evidence *that* ***Pangman could have been the Bostonais*** *aka* ***Tête Jaune***. Particularly noteworthy is the timing: Pangman appears to fade from the historical record in Red River after returning from his trial in the **Canadas**, which allows him just enough time to re-establish himself in what is now north-central Alberta and involve him in ***the search for efficient mountain passes*** in the early-1820s. Also, both men had a brother named Baptiste—although so did many French-Canadiènne folk in the western fur trade.

He would have been one of more than three hundred *so-called* **Iroquois** who joined the ranks of the **North-West Company (NWC)** and/or the **XY Company**. Most signed their contracts during the years 1800-to-1804.

> The **XY Company (XYC)** *viz.* the New North West Co., named after the marks used to distinguish its bales of goods from those of the North West Company, was a product of conflicts between NWC agents (led by **Simon McTavish**) and ***NWC winterers***, following the company's reorganization in 1795. In 1797-98, Montréal partners who did not join the 1795 agreement became a focal point for ***uncommitted or alienated winterers***, and in 1798 they fielded an opposition that reached as far as **Athabasca**. In 1800 **Alexander Mackenzie** joined the new concern, which then became popularly known as **"Alexander Mackenzie & Co."** Rivalry became intense and costly. The use of ***liquor*** in the trade rose sharply; more employees were needed and were able to sue for higher wages in both firms. When McTavish's death in July 1804 removed a focus of ***personal hostilities and disaffection***, the NWC and XYC negotiated a coalition. Their agreement of 5 Nov 1804 created a newly powerful and monopolistic NWC of 100 shares, 75 to be held by the old Nor'Westers and 25 by the former XYC partners.

Colin Robertson



Simon McTavish

Alexander Mackenzie

Colin Robertson of the HBC recruited Yellow Head in 1820 to guide a group of Iroquois and traders through the Rockies. In the years that followed, the HBC again called on the services of Tête Jaune. By the spring of 1828, news of ***a dreadful crime*** spread and was soon confirmed: Angry, determined and eager to make examples and put an end to the hunting practices of the *so-called* Iroquois on their territory, a radicalized small group of Dane-zaa massacred Tête Jaune, his brother Baptiste and their families.

Until we can make some clear link between **Bostonais Pangman** and **Pierre Bostonais *dit* Tête Jaune**, we are going to have to adhere to the original identification of Tête Jaune as ***Iroquois***—not ***Iroquois-Métis*** or ***Métis***, regardless of his biological ancestry.

3

John Clarke

Born in **Montréal**, **John Clarke** *son of Simon Clarke and Ann Waldorf* joined the **North-West Company** as a clerk, in 1800, and served successively on the **Mackenzie** and **Peace Rivers**. He quickly ended up in **Athabasca**, where, by 1810, his conduct was regarded as "rather reprehensible": After a sojourn in Montréal, Clarke joined **John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company**: (*Astor was a relative of his mother*). Clarke was put in charge of ***a second expedition party*** that left **New York** in 1811… and arrived at **Fort Astoria** in May 1812—and he was present in 1812 when the fort was surrendered to the **Nor'-Westers**. After the American traders sold out to the NWC, in October 1813, Clarke rejoined the **NWC**.

On his return to the Red River Settlement, in 1814, he took service with **Lord Selkirk**; and during the years 1815-19 he was the leader in the opposition which the **Hudson's Bay Company** offered the **Nor'-Wester**s along the **Peace River**. In 1815, Clarke signed on with the **HBC** to head ***a new expedition to the Athabasca country***. **Colin Robertson**, leader of the enterprise, stopped in the **Selkirk Settlement (Red River Colony)** to rebuild **Fort Douglas**, which had been burnt down by the Nor'-Westers. In the meantime, Clarke continued on to the Athabaska region with the remainder of the expedition but was eventually taken prisoner by the NWC.

John Jacob Astor

Robert Semple

Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk

In 1816, John Clarke first married a half-breed woman named ***Sapphira* (*Sophia*) *Spence*** *daughter of Sophia* (*Tche-tchit*) "*Sally*" *Jefferson, a swampy Cree woman, and an Orkney man named Jean-Baptiste* ("*Wichewask*") *Spence son of Joseph Spence*, who died (age 25) shortly afterwards in Montréal: (She had been baptized and educated in Scotland).

The **HBC** had enormous trouble in Athabasca, where ***Clarke was imprisoned*** early in 1817. Critics complained *that* his conduct left much to be desired and that his vanity was "inordinate." At the time of ***the union of the two companies***, in 1821, Clarke was made an **HBC Chief Factor** at **Fort Garry**—and married ***Marian Tranclar*** of Neufchâtel, Switzerland, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. By 1823, he was ***much disliked by the colonists***—for which he was ***criticized*** by the **HBC's London Committee: (See Appendix—end of document)**. Most of his last years in service were spent trying to gain recognition for his past contributions, but without much success. **George Simpson** described him as wanting "of every principle or feeling allied to fair dealing, honour and integrity."

John Clarke retired from the fur-trade in 1830; and he spent the rest of his days in Montréal. He died there in 1852.

4

The **Dane-zaa** ("*the Real People*") *viz.* **"Beaver Indians,"** are an Athabaskan-speaking people living near the mouth of the **Finlay River**. Their traditional territory was around the **Peace River** (*in present day Alberta and British Columbia*). The **Dakelh** or **Carrier Indians** called them ***Tsattine / Tsat'en*** and the **Plains Cree** called them ***Amiskiwiyiniw***, both meaning "*Those who live among the beaver*" or "*Beaver People*." In French, they are known as the ***Gens de Castor***, meaning "*People of the Beaver*."

Dane-zaa chief and family

Dane-zaa (Beaver) women and children in front of their tipi
Peace River area (Alberta), 1899, Glenbow Museum

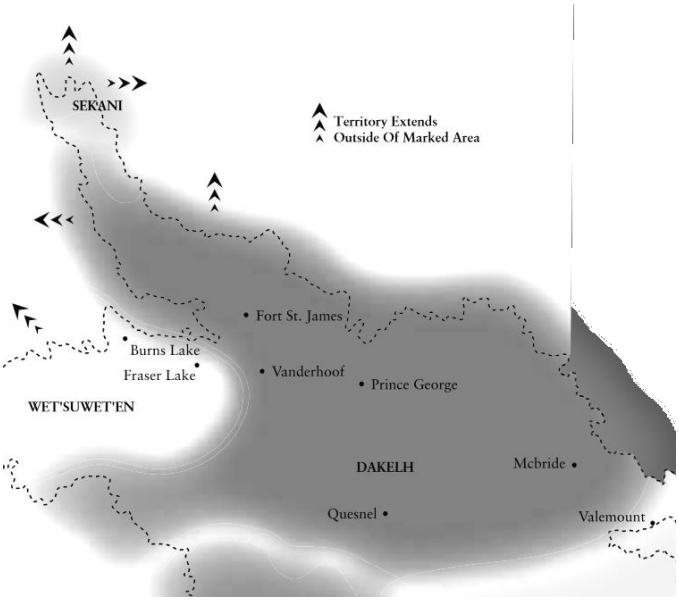
The Dakelh or Carrier Indians of BC's central interior

The **"*Carrier*"** name was derived from an English translation of **"*Aghele*"**—the name given them by the neighboring **Sekani** ("*Tsek'ehne*") ("*people of the rocks or mountains*"). The Sekani played an important role in the ***early period of contact*** between the ***fur traders*** and ***Dakelh people*** because some Sekani people could

speak both Dakelh and Dushina (Cree) and served as interpreters between the fur traders and Dakelh people.

Dakelh territories are mostly ***sub-boreal forest***, with ***numerous lakes and rivers***—all *ultimately* draining into the **Pacific Ocean**, mostly *via* the **Fraser River**. The ***climate*** is ***continental***, with ***cold winters*** during which the rivers and lakes freeze over and ***a short growing season***. The area is ***hilly***, with ***mountains of modest size***.

The Dakelh engaged in ***extensive trade with the coast*** along trails known as **"*grease trails*." Export** commodities consisted primarily of ***hides***, ***dried meat***, and ***mats of dried berries***. **Imports** of ***various marine products***, the most important of which was **"*grease*"—**the ***oil extracted from* "*eulachons*"** (also known as "candlefish") by allowing them to rot, adding boiling water, and skimming off the oil. This oil is ***extremely nutritious*** and, unlike many other fats, contains ***desirable fatty acids***. Other imports were ***smoked eulachons*** and ***dried red laver seaweed***.



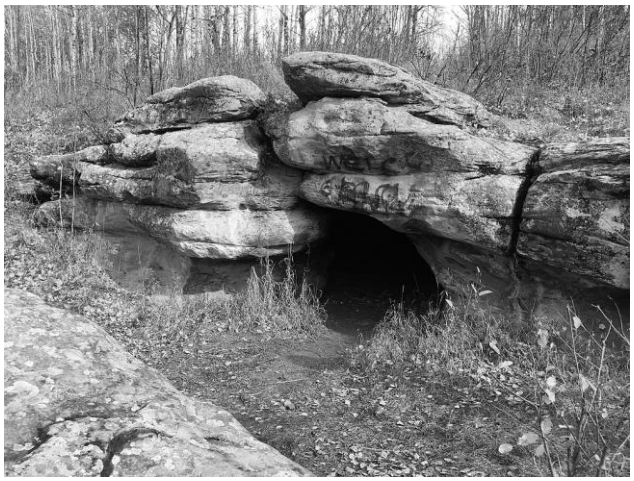
In the late-18th century, the route by which **Scot-Canadian explorer Sir Alexander MacKenzie** and his party reached the Pacific Ocean (1793) in ***the first crossing of North America by land*** was, from the Fraser River westward, a grease trail.

Mackenzie established **Rocky Mountain Fort** at the mouth of the **Moberly River** in 1794.

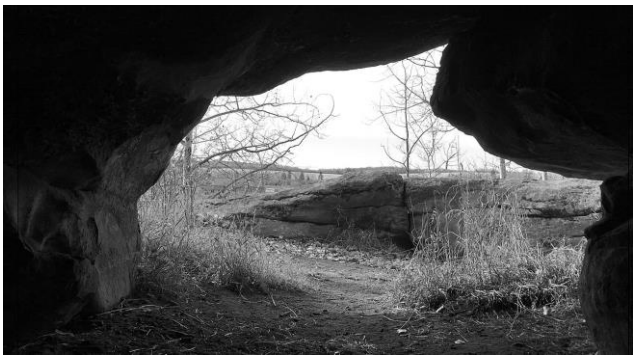
According to **Dane-zaa oral history**, the **Peace River** is named for ***the settling of a conflict between the Dane-zaa and the Cree***. The **Cree** traditionally lived ***south and east of the Upper Peace River region***. Due to their ***trade with settlers***, they had ***firearms*** and they pushed the Dane-zaa northwest in the late-18th century. A ***peace treaty***, negotiated in the late-1700s / early-1800s, stated that the Cree would live south of the Peace River and the Dane-zaa north: (The Peace River, before and after its new name, marked a boundary zone where groups met for trade, celebration and settling of disputes).

Prior to the 19th century, the Dane-zaa inhabited lands further east, ***near the Athabaska and Clearwater Rivers***, and ***north to Lake Athabaska***, as well as territory north of the upper Peace River (called **"*Saaghii Naachii*,"** meaning "*big river*").

Archaeological evidence found in ***a waste pit*** in front of *the* **Charlie Lake Cave** establishes *that* the area of **Charlie Lake**, *a few kilometers north of* ***Fort St John***, has been ***continuously occupied for 10,500 years*** by varying cultures of indigenous peoples. No artifacts were found in the cave itself, which measures is 45 m × 6 m (148 ft × 20 ft), but in "*a waste pit*" in front of the cave entrance, they included ***a fluted point***, ***six retouched flakes*** and ***a small bone bead***. These findings provide evidence of ***the northward migration of hunters and bison***; in addition, **"*two buried ravens*"** were discovered—the oldest traces of rituals in Canada.



Charlie Lake Cave (*front view*)



View looking from the interior, looking out of the Charlie Lake Cave

The Naachin

Traditionally, Dane-zaa has followed ***the teachings and songs of Dreamers***, called **"Naachin"**: Both men and women, they are able to experience ***out-of-body journeys*** to visit with **"*the ancestors*"** in order to guide their community. They are ***able to dream of future events*** and help the Dane-zaa to live in harmony with our changing world—many Dreamers predicted the arrival of Europeans. The last Dreamer, Charlie Yahey, died in 1976.

Grandfather Charlie Yahey (Dreamer)

Like swans, they are able to "fly" from their physical bodies in dreams and follow ***a trail to heaven*** called **"*yaak'ihts'ę? atanii*,"** moreover, they are able to bring dreams from this otherworldly place back to the community. With this gift, ***they teach their people to sing and dance for the celestial cycles to continue***. They believe that song and dance is ***vital in understanding the Dane-zaa identity***, as ***songs are the trails they need to dance along in order to find meaning in their experiences with the natural world***. While the Dane-zaa believe *that* ***some individuals hold this special power and dream for the community***, they *also* acknowledge that ***everyone is capable of having the gift of prophetic dreams***.

Appendix

HBC's London Committee

In 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated under a charter which provided a monopoly to trade over the territory drained by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay, with proprietary rights extending over the same territory. Under this original charter, control of the organisation was vested in a Governor, a Deputy Governor, and a Committee of seven members, all of whom were required to be shareholders. The decisions of these directors were subject to approval by the shareholders at the annual General Court. Establishments on Hudson Bay were subject to the supervision of the Governor and Committee in London, acting through a Governor stationed at Albany or York.

The Company's early history saw a struggle with the fur trading empire of New France. Strong competition from French traders disrupted the Company's trade from 1686 until the peace of Utrecht in 1713.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Company pursued a policy of gradual expansion while confining its activities primarily to the shores of Hudson Bay. This policy produced continuous dividends but provoked severe criticism from Arthur Dobbs, an Irish MP, who maintained that the Company had refused to explore the full extent of its territories and had therefore violated its charter. However, in 1749 the Company's conduct was vindicated by a Parliamentary Inquiry convened to investigate the charges.

After the conquest of North America by the British in 1759, the old challenge of the French fur traders was renewed by a new group of independent traders operating from Montreal. In 1774, the Hudson's Bay Company responded by establishing Cumberland House, 450 miles inland from York Factory. On moving inland, the Company found competition from independent traders throughout large tracts of the North West. In 1804, the two major rivals (the XY and North West companies) merged under the name North West Company. The Hudson's Bay Company retaliated by establishing inland forts from Lake Superior to Lake Athabasca. This expansion placed a serious strain on the Company's financial resources and brought about a corresponding decline in dividends. The North West Company also found itself in serious difficulty because of the struggle, and in 1819 negotiations began for a merger of the two companies, which was completed in 1821.

The merger of 1821 extended the Company's undisputed control over a territory stretching from Labrador to British Columbia, and led to a reformation of the Hudson's Bay Company's organisation in North America. Under the terms of the merger, the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee hierarchy remained intact except for the addition of a short-lived advisory board composed of two men from each company who reported to the Governor and Committee. This advisory board lapsed in 1824.

In North America, the Company was organised into specific territories or departments. The Northern Department, with its main depot at York Factory, included the territory from Rainy Lake on the western end of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, and also included the posts in the old Oregon Territories. The Southern Department, with its headquarters at Moose Factory, controlled the trade in what is now Ontario and Quebec. Later the Montreal Department was organised to supervise the trade in Labrador. The north shore of the St Lawrence and some districts previously controlled by Departments were each controlled by a governor. However, by 1826, all departments were placed under the administration of the Governor.

In 1857, a Select Committee of the British House of Commons inquired into the Company's license for exclusive trade, and recommended that Vancouver Island be given the status of a Crown Colony, and the Company's license should extend only over areas unsuitable for settlement. The Committee further suggested that areas such as Red River be ceded to Canada when suitable arrangements could be made. The issue remained unsettled until the British government devised the terms of the agreement which eventually comprised the Deed of Surrender of 1869. This was given Royal assent in 1870 which saw the surrender of most of the Company's land to the new Dominion of Canada in 1870. The Company has remained in existence to the present day, its original charter being replaced in 1884 and again subsequently.

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